

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 076866
ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 SS-15 SIG-03
AID-05 SP-02 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 AF-10 H-01
OES-07 DOE-15 SOE-02 NRC-05 MCE-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00
DOEE-00 /142 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/PAB:JACOON:DAM

APPROVED BY NEA/PAB:JACOON

T - JNYE (DRAFT)

S/AS - RKELLY (DRAFT)

-----124310 242121Z /64

O R 242038Z MAR 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 076866

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, PK, US (AGHA SHAHI)

SUBJECT: PAKISTAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S CALL ON THE SECRETARY

SUMMARY: IN A CALL ON THE SECRETARY, MARCH 23,
PAKISTAN'S DE FACTO FOREIGN MINISTER AGHA SHAHI
ASKED FOR OUR SUPPORT FOR A PAKISTAN RESOLUTION IN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 076866

THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT ON SECURITY
ASSURANCES FOR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES. HE ALSO
REQUESTED THAT WE CONSIDER A PAKISTANI REQUEST FOR
F5-E AIRCRAFT. ON THE NUCLEAR REPROCESSING ISSUE,
SHAHI WAS ADAMANT THAT THE GOP WOULD NOT DEFER
CONSTRUCTION OF THE PLANT. WE POINTED OUT OUR
CONCERN THAT THE GLENN AMENDMENT WOULD BE TRIGGERED,

REQUIRING US TO CUT OFF ECONOMIC AID AND MILITARY TRAINING, AND THAT BEYOND THIS OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP COULD BE AFFECTED. END SUMMARY.

1. PAKISTAN'S DE FACTO FOREIGN MINISTER AGHA SHAHI, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR YAQUB-KHAN AND MINISTER HAYAT MEHDI CALLED ON THE SECRETARY MARCH 23. ALSO PRESENT WERE AMBASSADOR GERARD SMITH, DEPUTY TO THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE JOSEPH NYE, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DUBS, AND COUNTRY DIRECTOR COON (NOTETAKER).

2. AGHA SHAHI OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY NOTING PAKISTAN'S DEEP INTEREST IN DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS AND ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR U.S. SUPPORT LAST FALL FOR THE PAKISTANI SOUTH ASIA NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE RESOLUTION (SANFWZ), BUT NOTED THAT INDIA REMAINS UNRECEPTIVE. HE RECALLED ANOTHER PAKISTANI SUGGESTION FOR A MULTILATERAL DECLARATION BY SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES ON THE NON-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BUT ASSERTED THAT INDIA HAS BEEN UNRESPONSIVE TO THIS, TOO. THIS YEAR, PAKISTAN WILL BE PRESENTING A FORMULA AT THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD) WHICH ESSENTIALLY PROPOSES THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES UNDERTAKE NOT TO THREATEN TO USE, OR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 076866

USE, NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES WHO ARE NOT PARTIES TO A SECURITY ARRANGEMENT WITH A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE FORMULA SEEKS TO ACCOMMODATE OUR PROBLEM WITH THE SOVIETS IN EUROPE. PAKISTAN HOPES THE RESOLUTION WOULD HELP BUILD A SYSTEM OF RESTRAINT WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRENGTH OF AN INTERNATIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME. IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICAN COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO SOUTH AFRICA, AND PAKISTAN WHICH QUOTE CONSIDERS INDIA A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE UNQUOTE. SHAHI CONTENDED THAT CHINA SUPPORTS THE PAKISTAN FORMULATION, FRANCE IS FAVORABLY INCLINED AND THE USSR IS QUOTE NOT OPPOSED UNQUOTE. IN THIS CONNECTION, A SENIOR PAKISTANI OFFICIAL HAS ALREADY BEEN IN LONDON AND PARIS AND IS GOING TO MOSCOW AND PEKING. SHAHI SAID HE PRESENTED THE PROPOSAL TO MR. BRZEZINSKI EARLIER IN THE DAY, WHO HAD ASKED ABOUT ITS APPLICATION TO KOREA, AN AREA WHERE WE HAVE PROBLEMS WITH THIS KIND OF FORMULATION. SHAHI SAID QUITE FRANKLY THEY HAD NOT THOUGHT OF THE KOREAN PROBLEM AND

WOULD GIVE IT ATTENTION; HE ATTACHES MORE IMPORTANCE TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THEIR PROPOSAL THAN TO ITS PRECISE FORMULATION.

3. THE SECRETARY ASSURED AGHA SHAHI THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE SANFWZ RESOLUTION AND WOULD GIVE MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THE PAKISTANI SSOD PROPOSAL. HE NOTED THAT KOREA IS A PROBLEM AND ADDED THAT WE WOULD KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE PAKISTANIS.

4. AGHA SHAHI LAUNCHED ON A DESCRIPTION OF THE QUOTE GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION UNQUOTE IN WHICH PAKISTAN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 076866

FINDS ITSELF. PAKISTAN HAS MADE GREAT EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN. DURING HIS VISIT, DAOUD HAD UNDERTAKEN TO SOLVE THEIR OUTSTANDING PROBLEM (BORDER ISSUE). HOWEVER, SHAHI FEELS THE USSR MAY USE ITS QUOTE PREDOMINANT UNQUOTE INFLUENCE TO PREVENT A FINAL AGREEMENT. WITH INDIA, RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED BUT THERE IS A POINT BEYOND WHICH PAKISTAN CANNOT GO WITHOUT GREATER INDIAN FLEXIBILITY ON KASHMIR. GENERAL ZIA HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO GO TO INDIA BUT FEELS IT WOULD BE BETTER TO POSTPONE THE VISIT RATHER THAN RISK A SETBACK IN RELATIONS WHICH COULD OCCUR IF DESAI TOOK A TOUGH POSITION ON KASHMIR DURING THE VISIT. PAKISTAN MUST ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT THE INDIAN QUOTE SOVIET AXIS UNQUOTE HAS IN NO WAY BEEN WEAKENED. NOW THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION WAS MOST DISTURBING. NORTH YEMEN IS PROBABLY THE NEXT SOVIET OBJECTIVE AND SAUDI ARABIA QUOTE WILL HAVE TO LOOK OUT UNQUOTE. ACCORDING TO SHAHI THE SOVIETS HAVE ALSO RECENTLY MADE A QUOTE ENERGETIC DEMARCHE UNQUOTE AGAINST PAKISTANI PARTICIPATION IN THE CENTO MINISTERIAL MEETING. GIVEN THIS SITUATION, PAKISTAN, WHICH HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY ORIENTED TOWARD THE U.S., IS BECOMING ACUTELY CONCERNED OVER ITS LACK OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, ESPECIALLY IN AIRCRAFT.

5. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS PLEASED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE VISITS OF AFGHANISTAN'S PRESIDENT DAOUD AND INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER VAJPAYEE, BUT HE WAS DISCOURAGED TO HEAR THAT THE PAKISTANIS FELT NOTHING CONSTRUCTIVE COULD EMERGE FROM A RETURN VISIT BY ZIA. ON THE BROADER QUESTION OF SOVIET
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 076866

INFLUENCE, HE NOTED PAKISTAN'S QUOTE COURAGEOUS ACTION UNQUOTE ON SOVIET OVERFLIGHTS TO ETHIOPIA. THE U.S. SHARES THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE SOVIET INTENTIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. HE NOTED ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S VISIT TO SOMALIA WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE FRUITFUL AND ALLOW US TO PROVIDE SOMALIA WITH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND DEFENSIVE MILITARY EQUIPMENT FOR USE ONLY WITHIN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BORDERS. WE HAVE PRESSED THE OAU TO MOVE FORWARD ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE SOMALIAN/ETHIOPIAN CONFLICT AND URGED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ACTION BY THE OAU WAS QUOTE PAINFULLY SLOW UNQUOTE, BUT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THEM.

6. YAQUB-KHAN REFERRED BACK TO THE PROBLEM OF PAKISTAN'S MILITARY UNPREPAREDNESS AND RECALLED THAT LAST SPRING WHEN WE TURNED DOWN THEIR A-7 REQUEST, THE QUESTION OF F5-E'S WAS LEFT OPEN. HE HOPED WE COULD BE RESPONSIVE NOW ON F5-E'S. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE INDIAN'S WERE NEGOTIATING FOR THE ACQUISITION OF JAGUARS, WHICH WOULD TOTALLY UPSET THE BALANCE ON THE SUBCONTINENT AND WOULD RENDER OUR ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE A-7'S INVALID. HE HOPED OUR POSITION COULD BE REVIEWED.

7. THE SECRETARY STATED THAT WE HAVE MADE KNOWN TO THE INDIANS OUR VIEW THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF THESE NEW AIRCRAFT TO THE REGION WOULD HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT AND WE HAVE URGED THEM NOT TO GO FORWARD.

8. AMBASSADOR SMITH SAID WE WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT FOR WHICH THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC NEED. THE GLENN AMENDMENT HAD NOT YET BEEN TRIGGERED BUT IF THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 076866

PAKISTANIS MOVE AHEAD WITH THE FRENCH CONTRACT, THE AMENDMENT WOULD PREVENT US FROM PROVIDING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY TRAINING. BEYOND THAT IT COULD SOUR THE WHOLE RELATIONSHIP. AGHA SHAHI POINTED OUT THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE GLENN AMENDMENT DID NOT AFFECT MILITARY SALES. DR. NYE RESPONDED THAT THE GLENN AMENDMENT DID NOT LEGALLY PROHIBIT SALES BUT

MAJOR PURCHASES DID HAVE TO LIE BEFORE CONGRESS AND THERE WAS A POLITICAL CONNECTION. BOTH AMBASSADOR SMITH AND DR. NYE SUGGESTED VARIOUS COMPROMISE FORMULATIONS WHICH WOULD INVOLVE THE DEFERRAL OF WORK ON THE REPROCESSING PLANT WHILE STUDIES WERE MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION. SHAHI WAS COMPLETELY INFLEXIBLE ON DEFERRAL, ASSERTING THAT IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE. THE PPP REMAINED VERY STRONG AND ANY POSTPONEMENT WOULD BE USED TO DISCREDIT THE GOVERNMENT. HE SAID PAKISTAN WOULD BE PREPARED TO HAVE QUOTE TRIPLE SAFEGUARDS UNQUOTE AND HAD EVEN PROPOSED TO THE FRENCH THAT THEY STATION THEIR OWN INSPECTORS AT THE PLANT. PAKISTAN HAD BEEN READY TO EXPLORE JOINT MANAGEMENT WITH IRAN WHICH WOULD NEED REPROCESSING WHEN ITS SEVERAL NUCLEAR REACTORS CAME INTO OPERATION. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SHAH SEEMED QUOTE SOMEWHAT RETICENT UNQUOTE. DR. NYE POINTED OUT THAT THERE WAS NO PROVISION IN THE GLENN AMENDMENT, AS THERE HAD BEEN IN THE SYMINGTON AMENDMENT, FOR REGIONAL REPROCESSING PLANTS. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE076866
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JACCOON:DAM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780131-0116
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780326/aaaaawef.tel
Line Count: 245
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ccbbadbd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3207674
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PAKISTAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S CALL ON THE SECRETARY SUMMARY: IN A CALL ON THE SECRETARY, MARCH 23, PAKISTAN'S DE FACTO FOREIGN MINISTER AGHA SHAHI
TAGS: OVIP, PK, US, (AGHA SHAHI)
To: ISLAMABAD
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ccbbadbd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014